000 /121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

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[101] /123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría [124] Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant [614] and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, [615] two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémiri Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajuári Majsá.

615 As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the
361 existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one
197 another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since
they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It
619 could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of
615 tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other
571 phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in
* 574 Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who
[601] did not belong to the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry used the corre-
[101] spondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémiri Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the
615 Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged
197 to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and
124 on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest
of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great
114 distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four
[124] phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémiri Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

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Aspects of Tucano Culture
Mythology -- Part I

By Marcos Pulop

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114 [101] /337/

Preliminary Note

The material presented here was collected between June 11 and September 9, 1954, when field work was done in the village /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés. Performing the functions of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra respectively, blood brothers and residents of the village of Guadalajara.

121 773 The mythology that appears in this article is a very small portion of the total Tukano /Tucano/ mythology. The author has considered it advisable not to analyze individually the myths published here, but to wait until all the Tukano mythology has been collected and published.

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* 539 /339/

I. Boraró and Boraró Numió

A man and a woman stayed in Diaojpekowí, and they were brother and sister. These two beings do not have children, but will never die. When they want to leave Diaojpekowí, they turn themselves into spirits. The man is named Boraró, and the woman is named Boraró Numió. Boraró and Boraró Numió kill people by opening a hole in their heads and sucking out the entire body through this hole. They leave only the skin of the victim, which they throw on a tree /Sp. palo/. To kill her victim, Boraró Numió lies down face up and begins to urinate at a distance of about 150 meters from her victim. Boraró, to kill his victim, urinates standing at a distance of about 150 meters from his victim. And when Boraró and Boraró Numió urinate, everyone that is within those 150 meters falls dead instantly.

3: Fulop--1 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

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[122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

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[101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, • 124 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. 128 Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee 772 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by 772 769 Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yurupárí.

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[171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

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> 3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be
• 124 collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

/138 cont./

153 it is necessary to repeat the teachings many times. Perhaps it is for this reason that there are so many repetitions in the conversations among themselves.

How much patience and time one needs to obtain from the native a vocabulary as simple as it can be, for example, half a dozen of words corresponding to the parts of the body (head, hand, arm, leg, foot), or the names that they give the various tribes. And this even when we make use of a language that they know (for instance, Portuguese, Nheengatú, or Tukano). The difficulty grows excessive when one wants the term corresponding to some object that we do not have at the time, or [124] when the idea is more abstract. By way of example and confirmation, if we ask him the words of his language that correspond to cadaver, large (space), long (time), ultimate (in an enumeration) (3).

3. By way of confirmation, two episodes are sufficient. We already had the names of the subdivisions of the Taryana tribe, obtained directly by us on a previous excursion and by Pe. Antônio Giacone. Wishing verification, we met in conference six individuals from this tribe, five of whom understood Portuguese sufficiently, and the oldest one, a little less. Two hours were necessary in order to obtain the names of the 15 subdivisions that appear in this work (IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z, pp. 171 ff./) and the locality where they live. On another occasion we wanted to ascertain the exact pronunciation of nê'kã-yuse (cf. below VII, 4, f (2)), the little branch, broken and "blown," that is left on the road as a malefice for someone. We asked in a circle of six or eight young men who spoke Portuguese. They rapidly exchanged ideas among themselves in [192]

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Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts consist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

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Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

[115]

The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

/337 cont./

796 782 585 881 Such feasts are held five to six times a year: not at fixed times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

/338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/346 cont./

796 535 *[192] the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

*[192] [123] [124]

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ; 1st part (129):

129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká perí kapikwá
Nuyaká perí
Dwikã perí deyú deyú ayá
I iroyê.
Mã i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Mâ-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yõ marí
Ikawê yo
Yóa marí ikawê yó
Yó marí ikawê dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yô yô yô marí
Kawê marí i-i-i (whistle)

/421 cont./

593 Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side,
[857] helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband,
[611] although the children belong to his tribe (27),
[601]

> 27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her
[178] trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having
[177] an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is
[439] common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),
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> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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123 my status in the community was as before. I still could count upon food and services.

[122] I participated to some degree in the male life of the community and came to learn the language and the culture as much by slow enculturation as by questioning. I had no principal informants because no one would serve in that capacity. All were willing to talk, to explain matters to me, but only in the accustomed atmosphere of easy and genial chatter. The people I knew best and the household of Ma.adú, in particular, were paradoxically the poorest systematic informants. They were most impatient and most easily vexed with the informant role. They regarded the open notebook and the persistent line of questioning as counter to our relationship. For prolonged and probing investigations I called upon the head of a *Bahúkiwa* subsib. Even this man was a very patient informant only when he was my guest among the *Bahúkiwa*. On his home grounds we were back on small talk. In Mitú I could talk to Indian women more freely than I could on the Cuduiari, where my relations with them had to be more correct. My house alongside the maloca was an informal social center which children and unattached women felt free to visit without invitation. The children taught me things they thought I ought to know about native customs. This was a privilege they had which adults, with their acute tactfulness about criticizing, intruding, or imposing upon others, could not exercise.

The Indians placed no serious obstacles in the way of my studies. They would not explain or discuss openly a ritual act at the time it was going on because to do so would be to counteract its effects. They did not, however, mind answering questions later and in a more general context. Moreover, they expected me to preserve the proprieties of tact in asking questions about domestic matters. Sex was a difficult subject, as were invidious comparisons. The Cubeo are not eager purveyors of gossip. After trouble had erupted in the open one could ask for and receive a discreet and sober account of some domestic difficulty. At the same time that the Indians imposed upon me their own reserve they were also sensitive to any evident disappointment when my questions went unanswered. Thus, if I persisted I often could get an answer, but I had to follow protocol, since personal relations among adults are rich in decorum and social etiquette. I also had available to me the more informal channels of the play pack of children, which delighted in passing on some household gossip, as well as of old women, whose verbal bawdiness was in marked contrast to the customary verbal restraint of the men on sexual matters.

114 I chose to stay in one community and to benefit from the intimacy

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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593 553 603 789 [604] 553 [114] [614] [574] 553 603 593 [856] [826] [775] 553 614 533 [114] [124] [184] 553 614 533 539

father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihí*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahúkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahúkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahúkiwa*. The *Bahúkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *parïékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwãnyaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahükiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

000 Wagley, Harvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921-22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Cabocios are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Cabocio culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1963). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of cabocios. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term *"caboclo"* is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "cabora," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be cabocios.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1963). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

• 124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papuri and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper- to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data about each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).

[P. 683 - B]